THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes.

Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

No. 31. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17TH, 1914. PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

A Public Meeting

WILL BE HELD IN

Devonshire Hall, Hackney,

ON

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20th,

AT 8 P.M.

To demand a minimum wage for women of 5d. an hour or £1 a week.

Speakers:

Miss NINA BOYLE,
Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Mrs. SCURR,
Mrs. WALKER,
Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY.

THIS WEEK'S MEETINGS.

Sunday, Oct. 18th, 3 p.m.—Victoria Park—Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Davies.
8 p.m.—Women's Hall—Miss Phillips, Miss Naylor, Mrs. Drake.
Monday, Oct. 19th, 3 p.m.—Bow, Women's Hall.
8 p.m.—Lesbia Road—Miss Emerson.
8 p.m.—"Peacock," Freemason's Road—Mrs. E. Duval.
8 p.m.—East India Dock Gates, Poplar—Mrs. Bouvier.
Tuesday, Oct. 20th, 2.30 p.m.—30 Churchill Road (indoors)—Mrs. Armstrong.
8 p.m.—**Devonshire Hall, Hackney.**
7.30 p.m.—Limehouse, Burdett Road—Miss Feek.
8 p.m.—Poplar Women's Hall, Railway St.—Miss Fedden.
Wednesday, Oct. 21st, 8 p.m.—Priscilla Rd.—Miss Rickards.
8 p.m.—Chrisp St.—Mrs. Davies.
Thursday, Oct. 22nd, 3 p.m. — Deacon's Vestry—Mrs. Dove-Willcox.
8 p.m.—Knapp Rd.—Miss Beauchamp.
8 p.m.—194 Barking Rd.—Miss Emerson.
Friday, Oct. 23rd, 3 p.m.—Poplar Women's Hall—Mrs. Scurr.
8 p.m.—Canning Town, Beckton Road—Miss Emerson.
8 p.m.—Poplar, Piggott St.—Mrs. Drake.

CLOTHING STALLS.

Clothing stalls, where new and second-hand clothes may be bought at very low prices, are open at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Fridays and Saturdays, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar on Saturday mornings. We shall be glad if friends can send us any clothes for these stalls. Boots and shoes are very urgently needed.

OUR EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.

Women who can work care more for work than for charitable doles, what we need most is money to set them to work. We are employing women to make garments to give away to destitute mothers who are ill or who have too many children to be able to do anything beyond the unpaid labour of caring for their homes and children. We are also executing orders for knitting and garment making of all kinds, and in our Co-operative Boot Factory we hope to employ a number of women. Please send us as many orders as you can.

Remember that we refuse to employ women at a sweated wage and pay a minimum of 5d. an hour or £1 a week. We are struggling to raise the sweated wages of women, and though we are only able to employ a comparatively small number of women, we realise that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."

THE BABIES' HOUSE.

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes is opening a Babies' House at 45 Norman Road as soon as it can be got ready. Lady Sybil Smith will take charge of the nursery, which will be run on the most up-to-date lines. The babies in the nursery will be the children of mothers who go out to work, they will range from a few months old to five years. The charge for minding the babies will be 3d. per day, and the nursery will be open from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

OUR CO-OPERATIVE BOOT FACTORY.

At the rear of the Babies' House is a workshop in which we are going to start a co-operative boot factory. The workers will be paid, the men the usual trade union rate and the women, either the recognised rate for the work they are usually engaged in, or, if the usual rate does not reach this standard, 5d. an hour or £1 a week. They will also share out the additional profits at stated intervals.

We can thoroughly recommend the boots which will be made at our co-operative factory. Mr. Payne, who will be the manager, has made boots and shoes for many members and officials of the Federation, and these have always beaten the record for wear and comfort.

OUR MOTHER AND BABY CENTRES.

Our milk bill has increased to enormous proportions. We are supplying milk to babies and invalids daily at 400 Old Ford Road. The members at Crowder's Hall, Bow, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar, are also increasing rapidly, and we want to start a further centre at Canning Town. We cannot open a centre at Canning Town until we get more money. We also urgently need further subscriptions to keep going our present supply of milk, which has already saved numbers of baby lives. Another nurse will be needed for the centre we wish to start at Canning Town. Who will volunteer? We greatly need gifts of:—

EGGS.

For invalids and babies who are too ill to digest milk, and are given the white of egg beaten up in water.

THE WOMAN'S SHARE.

By HENRY W. NEVINSON.

A year or two ago I wrote to a Liberal paper, urging that women ought to have an equal voice with men in the question of peace or war. I admitted that even men have very little voice. International affairs are conducted by Foreign Ministers, Ambassadors, Diplomatists, or by Kings and Emperors above the heads of the people, and as a rule we know nothing about them until some vital decision for good or evil has been made, and it is too late to criticise or protest. So it was that the understandings with France and Russia, which have involved us in the present war, were arrived at. The arrangement with France would probably have been approved by nearly the whole people. But nearly the whole people would have risen up against the understanding with the bloodstained Russian tyranny of 1905-1907, if they had realised what was being done in their country's name. The people, men and women alike, were kept in the dark on both points. They were never allowed either to confirm or disown the understandings which led us into the present war. So even the men of our country can exert very little direct influence over foreign politics. But if a Government's foreign policy becomes intolerable, the voters can, at all events, eject the Government at the next election; as was, in fact, done in 1880, when the fall of the Beaconsfield Ministry was chiefly due to the voters' general disapproval of their support to Turkey.

NO VOICE FOR WOMEN.

Voters have not much control of peace and war, but voteless women have none. Yet when I pointed this out, and went on to say that women suffered at least as much as men in war time, I raised a storm of contradiction and abuse among all "Anti's" and hardened old Liberals. One philosopher, who spent most of his time in the National Liberal Club, where you can enjoy tea looking calmly over the river to heights crowned by the Crystal Palace, worked himself up into a fury because men, as he said, are actually sometimes killed in war, while women stay at home in ease, enjoying the comfort-

(Continued on page 123, col. 1.)

FROM THE MASSES.

WHAT IT MAY COME TO.

He: You can go home now—we'll do all this.
She: Put up that gun, and then we'll see if we'll let you help.

WHAT IT HAS COME TO.

Our cartoon reminds us that in Paris, women are taking the tickets in the subways, keeping the shops open, selling the papers, pushing the milk carts, helping in the police courts, doing all the work of procuring permits to stay in Paris or leave it, and transacting enumerable other pieces of business. The women are literally maintaining the ordinary business of France.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.

Dr. J. M. Murray 5.0.0, Mrs. Arncliffe Sennet 2.0.0, Miss W. Smith 5.0, Dr. B. Tchaykovky 1.0.0, Mrs. Sandham 10.0, Mrs. Parr 1.0.0, Miss Brewster 1.0.0

FOR MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS: Mrs. Farmer 1.0.0, Miss Marie Renthe 4.0, Mrs. Newman 3.0, Miss E. Steer 3.0, Miss Florence Pell 2.0, per Mrs. Harverson 1.0.0, Miss Mannicom a table-centre to be sold for the funds, H.M. & O.B. Powell 2.0.0, A Radlett Friend 10.0 (monthly), Miss Edith Raine 1.0.0, Miss G. Setchfield 3.0, Mrs. & Miss Swift 5.0, Poplar collection 10.6½, Mrs. & Miss Gaul 6.0, Miss Isa Faulkner 1.0, Mrs. Richmond 5.0 (weekly), W. T. Hill 10.0, Mrs. A. B. Hughes 5.0, A West Ham Teacher 10.0, Miss Naomi Smith 5.0, Mrs. Harley 4.0, Mrs. MacBean 1.0.0, Miss Kelly 5 dollars, F.S. 2.0, "Cuckoo" 1.6, per R. Clark, Esq. 7.6, The Misses Glücksten (monthly) 14.0., Miss Marks collected 18.7, Miss Watts collected 18.5½

CLOTHES—Miss Lena Connell, Miss A. L. Durham, A Charwoman, Miss Klugett.
BARLEY—Mrs. Harley, Miss Violet Warren.
VEGETABLES—Mrs. Jones (Croydon).

ARROWROOT, BARLEY & RICE. BORACIC POWDER, BORACIC LINT, VASELINE, ZINC OINTMENT & BANDAGES, COD LIVER OIL & MALT.

BABIES' OUTFITS.

We wish to be able to lend necessitous mothers outfits for their babies, for the first months, and to give them the first set of short baby clothes.

With the money subscribed for finding employment, we are getting baby clothes made, and paying unemployed women for making these things. Those who would give money and materials for making baby clothes would help in one of the best possible ways. Gifts of baby clothes can be made good use of, also nightdresses, quilts, blankets and sheets for the mothers. Even old sheets can be cut up for babies' napkins.

Each baby's outfit should consist of:—

FOR BABY.

Four gowns, three flannel barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests and a cot blanket.

FOR MOTHER.

Two night gowns, a woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets and one pair pillowcases.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

WOMEN! JOIN THE
East London Federation of the Suffragettes —
WE NEED YOU!

I wish to become a member of the EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

Name.....

Address.....

I enclose 1½d. to cover membership and postage.

SALE OF WORK. Antiques and China. Friday, October 23rd, 2.30 to 9.30, at Alan's Rooms, 263 Oxford Street, W. organised by Forward Cymric Suffrage Union Proceeds for the Welsh Women and Children suffering through the War. Mrs. D. A. Thomas will open the Sale. Speeches by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Abadam, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Emerson, Mrs. Davies. Subject: "Women and War." Tickets and all particulars from Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, 69 Wimpole Street, W. Entrance—Threepence after 6.30.

BUY Dimoline English Made Pianos. Special prices during the war. Cramer 12 guineas. 11 Parkhurst Rd., Holloway.

The Woman's Dreadnought.

Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes,

321 ROMAN ROAD, BOW, E.

Telephone EAST 422.

Agents:—INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 11 Adam St., Strand, W.C.; LONDON & SUBURBAN PUBLISHING Co., St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL & Co., Temple Avenue, E.C.

Can be obtained at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. SMITH and SONS, and Messrs. WILLING.

Annual Subscription: Post free, 4s. 4d.

No. 31.—Saturday, Oct. 17th, 1914.

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service.

BEWARE THE C. D. ACTS!

Last week we heard that the Leyton Mayor's Local Representative Committee had decided to grant relief from the Prince of Wales' Fund to persons thrown out of employment through the war on the basis of 3s. for an adult woman and a maximum of 10s. for a family.

Now comes news that the Lambeth Committee has decided to give 5s. for one adult person living alone, 7s. 6d. for two adults living together, 2s. for each child under 14 years, 3s. 6d. for each adolescent over 14 years.

To these miserable sums is attached the condition that applicants shall undertake whatever suitable work is offered them.

The Parliamentary and other power of the men's Trade Unions is probably strong enough to ensure that whatever work is offered to the men shall be paid for at Trade Union rates of wages, but the women unfortunately have no such security.

Threepence an hour is all that they will earn in the Queen's workrooms, and the hours will be limited so that they cannot earn more than a maximum wage of 10s. a week. Many women in the Queen's workrooms are earning less than 10s. One writes to me that she is showing other women how to do their work and yet only earns 8s. 9d. Some women in some of the workrooms have been kept waiting about for work and have only earned 1s. 9d. in the week.

The New Constitutional Society are writing to protest that they have been refused a grant from the Queen's Fund for their workrooms because they pay more than 10s. a week to skilled workers, although they admit that they pay less than those women previously earned even in the pitiless struggle of commercial life, where women's labour is so habitually exploited.

Such skilled women as those to whom the New Constitutional Society shrunk from paying a weekly wage of 10s. have with difficulty extricated themselves from the vast purgatory of grossest sweating. They are pioneering upward towards a better standard of women's pay. But the Queen's Fund takes no account of the status of women's labour; the Queen, with the Liberal Government behind her, turns a deaf ear to the voices of those who plead for a living wage for women and the recognition of a trained woman worker's skill.

What is the excuse for this sweated flat rate of 10s. a week? That there are 60,000 unemployed women and only £60,000 in the Queen's "Work for Women Fund" "If you pay women £1 a week the Fund will only last one week," they tell us. "If you pay women 10s. a week," we answer, "it will only last for two."

Away with the Queen's Fund, if it is thus to be used as an excuse for sweating! There is plenty of money still in England, and all the women of the country are entitled to a share of it.

Why should thousands of working women, in growing numbers, be obliged to cringe and plead and make a display of all the virtues, in order to win a semi-starvation pittance? Why should they be made to bite the dust and suffer untold hardship because War has been declared, whilst some people are going on very much as before?

Mr. Austen Chamberlain said, when war was first declared—

"The common interest of all classes is much greater to everyone than the separate individual interests of any one class. We all stand or fall together, to whatever class we belong."

Let us act upon that principle! No one can say that we are doing so whilst the Local Government Board is fixing a scale of 10s. a week for two adults to live upon, and whilst nothing whatsoever has been provided for unemployed women but this paltry Queen's Fund of £60,000!

Let us try to think clearly on this question of money. Money is only a means of exchange for food, fuel, clothes, furniture and other necessary or pleasant things. The Government can make as much paper money as it pleases, and so long as there is enough food in the country there is no reason why any should be left to starve.

When the scarcity begins, then let us, as Mr. Chamberlain said—"all stand or fall together."

But how far are we from being prepared to put this principle into practice. The infant lives that have been sacrificed since the war began—because the mothers were kept waiting for the allowance due to them, because the breadwinners on whom they depended were thrown out of work—are a witness to our national unreadiness to play the part of brothers and sisters to our fellows in this international crisis.

People say that sweating is to be deplored, but that women have been sweated for a long time past, and that this is not the time to alter it. Thus they dismiss the problem and push it from their minds. But the difficulties of these women with wages of 10s.—and downwards to nothing—still continue and grow as the weeks pass by.

And meanwhile some people are thinking, that as despair settles down on them, some of these women will be driven to earn their living by that awful trade called prostitution—the easiest entered, alas, of all the trades that are!

The Watch Committee of the Plymouth Town Council on October 2nd recommended that to meet the present circumstances the Contagious Diseases Act should be re-enacted.

The matter has been deferred, but it will be raised again, and women must remember that the "special circumstance of the present time," which makes even possible such an infamous proposal, is the awful economic need, the helpless hopeless poverty in which hundreds of thousands of women live.

Remember that the Contagious Diseases Acts, which were placed almost unnoticed on the Statute Book, as a temporary measure, in 1864 and re-enacted in 1866, remained there for 20 years of toil and effort before they were repealed in 1886.

Here is the protest which Josephine Butler, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, Harriett Martineau, Lydia Becker, Mary Carpenter and Florence Nightingale signed against these Acts in 1869.

"These Acts are in force in some of our garrison towns, and in large districts around them. Unlike all other laws for the repression of contagious diseases, to which both men and women are liable, these two apply to women only, men being wholly exempt from their penalties. The law is ostensibly framed for a certain class of women, but in order to reach these, all women residing within the district where it is in force are brought under the provisions of the Acts. Any woman can be dragged into Court, and required to prove that she is not a common prostitute. The magistrate can condemn her, if a policeman swears only that he "has good cause to believe" her to be one. The policeman is not required to produce proof that he has good cause for his "belief," and the accused has to rebut, not positive evidence, but the state of mind of her accuser. When condemned, her sentence is as follows:—To have her person outraged by the fortnightly inspection of a surgeon through a period of twelve months; or resisting that, to be imprisoned with or without hard labour first, for a month, next for three months—such imprisonment to be continuously renewed through her whole life, unless she submit periodically to the brutal requirements of this law. Women arrested under false accusations, have been so terrified at the idea of encountering the public trial necessary to prove their innocence, that they have, under the intimidation of the police, signed away their good name and their liberty by making, what is called, a "voluntary submission to appear every fortnight for twelve months, for surgical examination. Women who, through dread of imprisonment, have been induced to register themselves as common prostitutes, now pursue their traffic under the sanction of Parliament: and the houses where they congregate, so long as the Government surgeons are satisfied with the health of their inmates, enjoy practically as complete a protection as a Church or a School.

The horror of this dreadful system can never be understood, even dimly, by anyone who has not read the detailed account of the tragedies which resulted from it. Josephine Butler's memoirs record cases of perfectly respectable women who were arrested and forced to undergo police examinations. Once examined it was impossible for them to escape from the police net. They had to come back month after month, and some of these women committed suicide, as the only way out of the fearful regimen into which they had been drawn.

The cruelties and indignities which war places on conquered peoples are terrible indeed, but the infamy from without, which is ever rebelled against, is less destructive than that, more closely rivetted, from within, which is passively accepted without protest. Slavery cannot degrade until it is accepted.

Josephine Butler's watchword was: "Woman is solidaire." Let us feel that as a living truth. Let us determine that shameful expedients like that of the Plymouth Watch Committee shall never be attempted in our land. Let us determine that behind the daughters of the Nation shall be the National Exchequer and not a paltry charitable fund of sixty or seventy thousand pounds!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

A BROKEN PROMISE.

Those who read the letter from Miss Richardson of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association of Wallsend, or who know of the matters with which it deals from actual contact with the wronged wives and families of our troops, must be filled with shame and indignation: shame that the elected head of our country's Government, should so dishonourably and cruelly break the promise which he made on behalf of the Government in respect of these many families, and indignation that the women and children, whose husbands and fathers are laying down their lives for the country, should thus wantonly be made to suffer.

Ever since war started these indignities and delays have followed closely on each other. Hopeless muddle and callous indifference have characterised all the dealings of the War Office with the soldiers' and sailors' families. Public opinion has been actively and constantly expressed on behalf of the soldiers' families, and at last it was thought that their economic needs were to be more adequately dealt with. This it appears was a false hope.

Less has been heard about the families of sailors, and for them, therefore, less even has been promised. We give the cheeseparing scale of pay which has been decided upon for the sailors' dependents, on another page. The excuses given for alloting a lower scale of pay than to the dependents of soldiers are that the seaman has open to him, a better prospect of promotion than a soldier; that already the majority of married men send their wives regular allotments: that the seaman has opportunities of earning "non-substantive pay." What non-substantive pay is, is not explained, but the dictionary tells us that "substantive" means "real," or "of independent importance." Therefore, non-substantive pay must mean pay that is unreal or of no importance. This sort of pay hardly seems to us to be of any use, nor will prospects of promotion in the future fill hungry little childrens' mouths. As for the regular allotments that the ordinary seaman sends home to his wife, this cannot amount to more than from 4s. 8d. to 5s. 10d. a week. And together with the Government pay, her income only ranges from 10s. 8d. to 11s. 10d. a week with 2s. a week for the first two children and 1s. for the others. Munificent sums these for a rich country like ours to pay.

PASSES TO SEE THE WOUNDED.

Sir Charles Harris told the East London Federation of the Suffragettes at the War Office the other day that free passes on the railways would be granted to the relatives of soldiers invalided home from the war who might wish to see them in hospital.

The other day a mother came to the Women's Hall, Bow, saying that her son was in hospital in ——— and asking us how she could obtain a free pass to see him.

We telephoned to the War Office, and were told that free passes are only to be granted in cases where men are dangerously wounded, and that the relatives must write to the doctor in charge of the hospital to ask for the pass. Whilst letters are passing of course the men may die.

The Press Bureau has now issued the following curt and somewhat brutal notice:—

Applications on the part of relatives and friends to see sick and wounded soldiers in hospital in this country should be addressed to the officer in charge in the case of military hospitals, and to the secretary of the hospital in the case of civilian hospitals. They should not be sent to the War Office. In the event of a soldier dying in hospital, relatives will be notified, as far as possible, of the date of the funeral.

In view of misleading statements which have appeared on the subject, it is notified that free railway warrants either to see the sick or wounded or to attend the funeral are only granted to one, or in the case of a funeral two, mourners, and that their issue is restricted to cases of necessitous circumstances. Particulars concerning such warrants are sent with the permission to attend.

It is a hard thing that a young soldier may be prevented from saying good-bye to both his parents or that his wife and mother may not both be there to see him die. Surely both they and he would prefer that they might go to him while he is still living than that two of them should afterwards have passes to follow him to his grave!

THE PRINCE OF WALES' FUND.

Mr. Wedgewood Benn, Chairman of the East London Executive Committee of the Prince of Wales' Relief Fund, states that it is the wish of the Committee that employment should be given rather than doles, but how can this be? The Prince of Wales' Fund is divided amongst the various Mayors' local representative committees and these bodies are said to have no power to provide work.

Mr. Wedgewood Benn also stated that the Prince of Wales' Fund was helping Miss Mary Macarthur's Committee for providing work for women. He said that money received through the Queen's Fund was at once paid into the Prince of Wales' Fund for that purpose. What does this mean? Does it mean that the money subscribed to the Queen's Fund is the only money it is proposed to use for providing work for women, or does it mean that the Prince of Wales' Fund is also to be used for this purpose?

Neither the Prince of Wales' Fund nor the Queen's Fund is big enough to find work at a living wage for the thousands of women who have been thrown out of employment through the War. The National Exchequer must be drawn upon for this purpose—the Empire must make itself responsible for providing work for its daughters!

able existence of well-fed sheep. Another leading economist wrote to say that if women had votes they would always vote for war, because then the men would go out and be killed, and the women would get their jobs for themselves.

The philosopher was wrong because, though he knew a lot about metaphysics and the National Liberal Club, he knew nothing whatever about war. To him war meant a lot of marching and shooting somewhere in India or Africa—in places inhabited by "natives" and difficult to find upon the map. When I answered by describing scenes in the wars I had witnessed, he laughed them to scorn as "patriotic fallacies." I don't suppose he laughs now. Even the roosters in Liberal Clubs are now beginning to find out what war really means—not a war among Afric's sunny fountains, but close at hand, in the next street as it were, among great and beautiful cities which the Clubman has visited for picturesque interest, less than a day's journey from the Embankment. I should like to know what the philosopher now thinks of women's position in war, while he reads the history of Belgium's devastation or the pitiful exodus of homeless and ruined families from Antwerp. Does he still consider that in war-time women stay at home at ease, enjoying the comfortable existence of well-fed sheep?

Or that economist: he said women would always vote for war so that they might get the jobs while men went out to be killed. He was wrong because he was not a human being. That is the weakness of so many economists, Charity Organisation people, Guardians, and officials of every class. They have ceased to be human beings. They have assumed that man's chief motive is to make money and "get on." Or they have formed rigid doctrines about "the deserving" and "the undeserving," and they fit each "case" into the doctrine.

Or they have studied the statistics of vice so long that they have ceased to believe in virtue. It is a libel on mankind to say that women, or men either, want others to be killed so that they may get their jobs. No one but an economist could say such a thing with a grave face. An economist only says it because he takes no account of the real motives that act upon ordinary men and women — affection, friendliness, pity, admiration, and neighbourly help. To him the eyes and hearts of all mankind are fixed on sixpence.

REALITIES OF WAR.

Detestable as this war is—so horrible that we dare not realise its horror—something will be gained if it sweeps away that kind of economist. We are now in England learning what war really means—not a war with "natives" at a safe and comfortable distance, just adding a spice to the morning paper—but a war that has already destroyed beautiful and famous cities so close at hand; that has turned men, women, and children out from their warm and tidy homes into a bare and wasted country to starve in cold and dirt and hunger; that has overthrown all the occupations and common means of life, closed the schools, cut off the water, stopped the trams and railways; that has killed thousands on thousands of industrious and honest men who had been working for their families, and has also killed thousands of women and their children, exposing them further to every kind of outrage and indecency.

I only say that, since this is the nature — the invariable nature — of war, the women of any country win by their sufferings a claim to an equal voice with men in the question whether peace or war shall prevail. We have not yet suffered the extremity of war in our own land. We may well pray that we shall not suffer it. But the reality is near enough to us now to stir the imagination of philosophers and economists. Even among ourselves we know what heartache already exists, what distress of mind, what misery of body. On women, at least equally with men, the curses of war have already fallen, and it is no longer possible for the most callous politicians to close their eyes and hearts to the sufferings of all. Yet our present Liberal Government still persists in maintaining that peace and war are matters in which the women of the country have no concern, that they are unfitted to judge upon such questions, and that, at all events, they shall never have a say in the decision, one way or other.

THE NEED FOR THE VOTE.

Dear Editor,—

I am delighted to hear of your campaign for a minimum living wage for women.

The war has caused to leap into startling prominence the battle-cry of the suffrage propogandist—"Woman needs the vote because she needs must live."

It was thundered forth from every platform throughout the country that woman's economic freedom could only be achieved side by side with her political freedom, i.e., her right to the vote, and to some voice in the conditions under which she has to live and labour.

It all seems very far away, this logical demand for the vote, and yet at no time was its practical need so practically demonstrated.

The daily papers tell us that there is much unemployment due to the war, and that, "of course," women are the greatest sufferers, and they and their dependents—the children and the old people will continue to be the sufferers even when they do get work, unless they can secure the handle to a fair wage, i.e., the vote.

It is interesting to consider a few quotations from well known people to emphasise the pitiful contrast between men's and women's position in the labour market.

The *Daily Citizen*, of Nov. 26th, 1912, refers to the *Fair Wages Clause* for Government contracts as "the vital point whereby erring contractors are compelled to disgorge large sums," thanks to the watchfulness of Labour M.P.'s.

The late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, on the other hand, in giving evidence before the Select Committee on Homework, 1907, in reference to the Fair Wages Clause: "When you get to women . . . the average wage is so low that it comes to be fairly a sweating wage. . . . The employers simply laughed at me when I said to them, 'Do you pay a good wage to women? Are you not obliged by the terms of your contract?' They said, 'nobody ever came to inspect or see what they paid.'" Contrast with this Mr. Andrew Fisher (late Premier of Australia) in June, 1911: "All questions connected with woman's labour are very tenderly treated in Australia since women had the vote."

And Mr. Watt (late Premier of Victoria) in 1913: "I cannot say no instance of sweating ever occurs, but I can say none is ever known but it is instantly dealt with."

Thomas Hood wrote "The Song of the Shirt" in 1843, since when we have had three Commissions on Sweating, and still it continues!!

And Mr. Lloyd George recently at the Albert Hall: "The quality (of pay) would be impossible if women had the same right to vote, and therefore to call the Government to account as men have. And this is one of the greatest arguments for Woman's Suffrage."

Sweating on Government contracts still goes on, unless discovered by the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT and exposed therein, will apparently continue unchecked, and the reason is well put by the late Mr. Kirkman Gray in his "Philanthropy and the State." "The theory is that the male can earn enough for a family and the female enough for herself. But this theory, even if we accept it as correct, makes no allowance for the fact that every eighth woman is a widow. Here then is the bitter anomaly of the widow's position in the economic sphere. As head of the family she ought to be able to earn a family wage—as a woman she can only gain the customary price of individual subsistence."

And the Charity Organisation Society ("How to Help Widows"): "We must look the poor widow's troubles in the face. . . . She has to do the work of two people. She has to be the breadwinner and go out to work, and she must also be the housekeeper. She has to wash, clean, and cook, make and mend clothes, care for and train her children. Can one pair of hands manage all this? And secondly, when she goes out to work, our poor widow will probably only earn low wages . . . ABOUT 10S. A WEEK. She will certainly not be able to support herself and her family on that."

With the European war upon us, the widow's problem will be increased considerably. Shall we not see to it that she can secure some form of living wage BEFORE her home is irretrievably lost?

It depends on the *women* left behind how far we advance in social matters while our defenders are fighting our battles at the front, confident that their homes and children will be safe in the hands of their grateful country and their womenfolk.

A grateful country! Does it not depend, too, on the women at home whether the return of the wounded and maimed for life means the fate of the Crimean veterans at the hands of a grateful country—possibly with no home but the House to go to?

The Queen's workrooms have made 10S. A WEEK a very familiar figure to conjure with, and to serve as a model for private employers. At no time has it been so necessary to insist on woman's economic independence, and therefore your campaign for a minimum wage is very welcome. May it be taken up throughout the length and breadth of the land. May every woman, whether she have enough or not, understand that the very existence of many a British home, with barest necessaries of life, depends on the support she gives to this movement now at this very moment. Public imagination has been stirred by the patriotic response of many a breadwinner, and soon woman's labour will, of necessity, replace that of men wherever there is a dearth of workers.

These, too, will realise that the scheme needs their support if we are not to have wholesale compulsory undercutting of wages by women during the absence of the men on active service.

There are few things men do that women cannot do with training, but "of course," being women, the pay will be less.

Employers are only human, and if the existing standard of women's pay remains below a living wage level the result of the war will simply mean the enthronement of sweating on a colossal scale in our midst.

And what of woman's special work, the care of the home and the children, whose lives are becoming very precious in view of the terrible toll at the front? Shall we tolerate a single preventible death when we know how to heal and save?

But this can only be if the feeding and housing problems are adequately dealt with, and again we come round to woman's economic position, and the wherewithal to carry on the home efficiently.

Is it not time we too adopted some form of mothers' and widows' pensions to safeguard the lives of our future citizens?

In our extreme need shall we continue and tolerate a handicap which so vitally affects our national existence? Shall we continue to be received at back doors by responsible members of the Government just because we are women—the wives of the defenders of the Empire—with a scant courtesy that assuredly would be changed for the better had say, Mr. George Lansbury, taken a deputation of Jack Tars or Tommy Atkins to confer with Lord Kitchener!

Forward then with the demand for a living wage, which after all is at the bottom of our demand for a vote. There is no time to lose.

B. TCHAYKOVSKY.

WHAT ABOUT THE MEN?

Mrs. Creighton, Adeline Duchess of Bedford, and a number of other ladies, have written to the Press to say that with the permission of the Home Secretary and the Chief Commissioner of Police, they are making arrangements for "influencing and, if need be, restraining the behaviour of the women and girls who congregate in the neighbourhood of the various soldiers' camps."

There are always so many good people eagerly coming forward to teach and correct poor women! Working women become a little tired of being always lectured to!

The Local Representative Committee in Swansea has approached the Road Board and has secured a contribution of one third of the cost of proposed improvements. The estimated cost is £20,000. If this can be done in Swansea why not elsewhere?

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The Poplar Export Branch of the Dockers Union has passed a resolution protesting against the sweated wage of 3d. an hour or 10s. a week being paid in the Queen's Workrooms to women thrown out of work through the War, and demanding that a minimum wage of 5d. an hour or £1 a week be paid to all women employed on relief work subsidised out of National funds or by Government contractors. This resolution has been forwarded to the Queen, the Cabinet Committee, the Central Committee for Women's Employment, and the Central Labour War Emergency Committee.

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The Hull Branch of the Docker's Union reported on October 1st: "For the children of men serving with the Forces, we have secured three meals per day on the seven days of the week, and the children of those industrially affected are to have two meals a day. We are endeavouring to find out the reason for the difference for, if anything, the children of the industrial worker will be the more needy, as the families of soldiers will be receiving relief from the Government. Our aim, however, is to get all the children fed three times a day on every day of the week."

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"If the Government decide to knock 5s. or 10s. a week off the widow's allowance, in order to avoid putting ½d. on the income tax or adding a few pence to the duty on tobacco or spirits, it will be because the taxpayers individually and collectively are able and willing to make themselves heard whilst the soldiers' widows can be relied upon to accept in silence and even with gratitude whatever may be given them"—*New Statesman*.

What stronger argument could there be for Votes for Women?

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At the Thames Police Court on Thursday, October 8th, Mr. Clark Hall granted an ejectment order for Saturday, October 17th, against Mr. W. D. Munroe. This man is out of employment and has a wife and six children, whose ages range from seven months to 19 years; only two of the children are working and they are not earning enough to keep themselves. The landlord in this case had illegally distrained on the tenant's goods without having applied for an order from the Court. Yet Mr. John Burns assured the East London Federation's deputation which waited upon him a week or two ago, that none would be turned out during the War.

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We have been asked to notice in our columns, the death of "Brother" Ball of the Gas Worker's Union, a docker who was killed at his work on October 7th, by a cask of sugar falling on him.

In the acute distress and unemployment amongst the dockers a few years ago, he was always to be found leading deputations to the Guardians or the Borough Council, or lobbying at the House of Commons in order to obtain relief and work for his fellows. His work was an example of what can be done by "pegging away" and it was none the less useful because it never brought him into prominence in the world at large. We can only hope that for every such man as this lost ten will be ready to step into his place and carry on his work. If there were only the question of women's pay to fight about, there is room for every good friend of progress to work as hard as Brother Ball did in the cause of those in distress.

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The Members of the E.L.F.S. express deepest sympathy with the relatives of the late Mrs. Gurner.

DISTRICT REPORTS.

BOW AND BROMLEY.

Organiser—Mrs. WATKINS.
321 Roman Road, Bow, E.

Meetings during the past week have been been very good. Who will take relief collecting boxes on Sunday to the City Temple? Miss Marks and Miss Watts are both very successful at Westminster Abbey and many thanks are due to them for the splendid way they turn up every Sunday. Who will follow their example? Funds are so badly needed that no chance should be lost. A working party leaves 321 Roman Road every Tuesday, will members please spare a little time for that? Help is also wanted for the stall on Fridays, will some one volunteer to take it for one hour between 6 and 10 p.m. Then there is our paper, do let us keep up the sales. Bow has always prided itself on being first, let us keep that record. If every member made up her mind to do her part and sell even one or two the sales would go up at once.

Dreadnoughts sold week ending Oct. 9:—
Central 366. Bow and Bromley 183.
Mrs. Payne 92
DISTRIBUTED.
Mrs. Knudson and Mrs. McCheyne, 350; Mrs. Connell and Mrs. Moore, 250; Mrs. Savoy, 250; Mrs. Carlisle, 200; Mrs. Morris, 200; Mrs. Clarke, 200; Mrs. Mantle, 200; Mrs. Pascoe, 100; Mrs. Lake, 100.

POPLAR.

DREADNOUGHT *Secretary*, Mrs. BIRD,
20 Railway Street.

Meetings at the Women's Hall have been well attended during the week, in fact, the hall is attracting great interest in the neighbourhood. Miss Long has made herself responsible for paper-selling at the Dock Gates on Sunday mornings. I should like the names of two people who will be responsible either for collecting for Babies' Milk or for selling *Dreadnoughts* at St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday mornings. Thanks are due to Miss Neuss, as she had only been a member two days when she sold papers in Hyde Park and did very well indeed, whilst I collected money for Babies' Milk. This was a good advertisement for the *Dreadnought*, as several ladies and gentlemen said how much they appreciated Miss S. Pankhurst's and the Federation's work. Sets of the *Dreanought* have now been made up, that is Nos. 1 to 27; 27 papers for 6d. Anyone wishing for same would oblige either by asking Secretary or sending for same. They would make the Ideal Xmas Present for readers over the seas.

135 *Dreadnoughts* sold week ending Oct. 9.

In the Office six sets, Mrs. Schlette 68, Miss Long 50. Distributors—Mrs. Churcher 300, Mrs. Govino 100, Miss P. Lagsding and Miss E. Barker 100.

SOUTH WEST HAM.

Hon. Sec.—MRS. DAISY PARSONS,
94 Ravenscroft Road.

The campaign of meetings leading up to the Public Hall Meeting, has been very successful and enthusiastic. At the 'Peacock,' the Organiser was the speaker, and also at Ordnance Road on Wednesday, where an extra meeting was held specially to advertise the Public Hall. Good rally of members on Tuesday, Miss Fedden speaking. Miss Somers at Beckton Road, Friday.

Large number of bills given outside at the Municipal Concert on Saturday night.

An office has been taken at 14 Butchers Road, and is open every afternoon from 3.30 to 5.30, and all who are in distress through the War will be welcomed there for advice. Members who can give a little time to canvassing the district are also welcome there, and meetings will be held on Tuesday evenings, beginning October 20th. As cases of distress are found, it is hoped to be able to help them a little by distributing milk for babies under 12 months, but the Federation has at present no funds in hand to spare for the purpose, and so we must collect all we can before a start can be made. Boxes are ready and can be had from the Secretary or Organiser.

OTHER EAST LONDON SOCIETIES.

R. S. P. U.

Hon. Sec.—J. W. BONARIUS, 89 Wyke Road.

The R.S.P.U. will hold a Social on Saturday, Oct. 17th, at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, and hope that all new and old friends will rally again to support same. Admission 3d. and refreshments at popular prices.

24 *Dreadnoughts* sold week ending Oct. 9.

NORTH LONDON M. P. U.

Hon. Sec.: MR. H. G. EVERETT.

We have decided that (1) in view of the fact that the E.L.F.S. is the only active militant Suffrage Society at the present time and (2) as we feel that they are doing such splendid work for the cause, we will, at any rate during the war, concentrate on the East End movement, into which we will throw ourselves wholeheartedly, and we will make the *Dreadnought* our official paper.

A very enthusiastic member's meeting was held on Friday, October 9th. It has been decided that these meetings shall be held monthly. A very good meeting was held on Sunday in Regent's Park when 18 *Dreadnoughts* were sold, also 18 the previous week. Meeting as usual next Sunday at 3.30 p.m.

All communications should be addressed —19 St. Thomas Rd., Finsbury Park, N.

TO SOLDIERS' WIVES.

1. The rates of Army Separation Allowance have been increased, for the period of the war, with effect from 1st October, 1914, on which date the first payment at the increased rates will be made.

2. The rates have been so increased that the total income of the family derived from this source and from the minimum allotment which the married soldier must make from his pay, whether at home or abroad, will be shown in the following table.

Any allotment above the minimum rate which a soldier may make will be paid in addition.

The extra 3s. 6d. a week issuable to London families and the special compensation granted to families on the married establishment will continue to be paid as at present.

3. The compulsory allotments of pay included above are—

Soldiers not below the rank of serjeant: Wife, 5s. 10d. per week, with 1s. 2d. for each child, up to a maximum of 9s. 4d. Other soldiers: Wife, 3s. 6d. per week, with 7d. for each child, up to the maximum of 5s. 3d.

4. The separation allowance for motherless children will be at the rate of 3s. a week for each child. with the regulated allotment from the soldier in addition. This allotment is as stated in paragraph 3 above.

5. From 1st October, payment will be made weekly in advance, through the Post Office, on the orders of the Regimental Paymaster of the soldier's unit (or of the Territorial Force County Association in the case of soldiers of the Territorial Force).

	Rank of soldier.				
	Private and corporal.	Serjeant.	Colour-serjeant.	Quarter-master serjeant.	Warrant officer.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wife	12 6	15 0	16 6	22 0	23 0
Wife and 1 child ...	15 0	18 0	19 6	25 0	26 0
Wife and 2 children	17 6	21 0	22 6	28 0	29 0
Wife and 3 children	20 0	24 0	25 6	31 0	32 0
Wife and 4 children	22 0	26 0	27 6	33 0	34 0
	And so on, with an addition of 2s. for each additional child.				
Deduction if in public quarters with fuel & light	6 0	6 0	7 6	13 0	14 0

SAILORS' WIVES.

The scale of separation allowance for sailor's wives is given below. It is only paid if an allotment of at least 20s. per month is made to his wife by the man. The same scale applies to the wives of marines. The maximum allotment that can be made by an ordinary seaman is 25s. a month or 5s. 10d. a week. The minimum, 20s., is equivalent to 4s. 8d. a week. Thus the wife of an ordinary seaman will get a minimum of 10s. 8d. a week and a *maximum of* 11s. 10*d*. The soldier's wife is to have 12s. 6d. for herself and 2s. 6d. and 2s. for her children, as against 2s. and 1s. allowed for the children of sailors. Can a sailor's wife feed and clothe her children more cheaply? Are the men who preserve the supremacy of the sea less important than the men who are fighting in France?

Sailor.	Marine on Ship's Books.	Wife.	Children	Motherless Children.
		Per week.	Per week.	Per week.
Ordinary Seaman Able Seaman Leading Seaman 2nd Class Petty Officer, and equivalent ratings.	Private Corporal Serjeant and equivalent ranks.	6s.	1st child, 2s. 2nd child, 2s. Subsequent children, 1s. each.	3s. each.

A PROMISE UNFULFILLED.

Reprinted from the Times of Oct. 15th.

Sir,—In Parliament the Prime Minister promised that our soldiers' wives should be paid as follows:—Wife 12s. 6d., wife with one child 15s., and so on. From the parade made, many people imagined that Mr. Asquith's promise of increased pay meant that the families of the men were to get an increase of income—but no such thing has occurred; all that his much-lauded promises amounted to was, not a difference in income, but a difference in the source of income, for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association forthwith stopped their supplementary grant and the soldier found that the expectation of a better income was a delusion. However, a worse thing was to follow. The Premier's promise in Parliament of 12s. 6d., 15s., 17s. 6d., etc., to be paid weekly at the Post Office, on and after October 12, was placarded in hugh posters in every township in England. The promise was to come into full operation yesterday, October 12, and what has happened? In every corner in England, the Premier's glowing promise has been broken, and wives already half starved have been paid 9s. instead of 12s. 6d., and 11s. 6d. instead of 15s.

The official excuse given to me yesterday was that the War Office had no power to pay allotments in the way the Premier promised. All weekly grants have been stopped by the Central Committee of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association. The thing is dreadful—a nightmare to those who are trying to cheer the dependents of our soldiers, and I hope England will ring with indignation at the scandal.

Yours truly,
MARIA I. RICHARDSON, Hon. Sec.,
Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, Wallsend.
October 13.

I enclose 4s. 4d. for a year's WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT.

Name .....

Address .....

NOT LIVING IN CLOVER.

Dear Miss Pankhurst,—I am receiving £1 1s. 6d. Army pay and 5s. 3d. a week allotment. I have lost my work through slackness. Before the War, I was earning from 10s. to 14s. a week myself in addition to what my husband gave me. I am putting down each week what I really need, allowing for my husband being away, it comes to £1 10s. 7d., and I am now getting £1 6s. 9d., being 4s. short of what I really need.

A Soldier's Wife.

Rent 7s. 3 rooms often 10s. 6d. when lodger does not pay.

Tea	0s. 8d.
Sugar	1s. 2d.
Rice	0s. 2d.
Meat	4s. 6d.
Bread	3s. 6d.
Flour	0s. 7d.
Butter	1s. 5½d.
Jam	0s. 3½d.
Vegetables	1s. 5½d.
Soap	0s. 3½d.
Soda	0s. 1d.
Coals	1s. 4d.
Milk	1s. 2d.
Machine	1s. 0d.
Average for boots etc.	4s. 0d.
Insurance	0s. 9d.
Gas	1s. 2d.
Total	£1 10s. 7d.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Prince of Wales' Fund, states that it has now been decided that "unmarried mothers and their children are to be regarded as dependents in cases where the father has actually made a home for them." "No insulting questions," he says, "are to be put to the 'unmarried wives' of our soldiers and sailors.

This should mean that these women are entitled to the same allowances for themselves and their children as though they had been legally married. Let us help them to insist upon getting it!

Even now one of these women has sent to us, she has had no pay. Her baby is dying—no coal in the house.

EXPENSIVE PATRIOTISM.

At the present time, if a man with four children enlists and, as a recently issued Army Order phrases it, is "temporarily living at his own home for public convenience," he will draw 1s. a day pay and 2s. allowance for board and lodging—a total of 21s. a week. *No separation allowance will be drawn under these circumstances.* But if he were not living at home, his wife would be getting 22s. and there would be one less adult to feed. Moreover the following equipment table will show where all his money is going. This is "public convenience" with a vengeance!

TERRITORIAL FORCE.

Instructions as to procedure on mobilization.

Arms, Equipment, Clothing and Necessaries. You must be in possession of the Arms, Equipment, Clothing and Necessaries detailed on this card.

DISMOUNTED MEN.

I. Clothing and necessaries carried on person:

1 Pair Trousers.
1 Jacket.
1 Cap.
} Service Dress.
1 Pair Puttees.
1 Identity Disc.
1 Field Dressing.
1 Pay Book.
1 Great Coat, carried in Pack.
1 *Pair Ankle Boots.*
1 *Pair Braces.*
1 *Pair Laces.*
1 *Flannel Shirt.*
2 *Pair Worsted Socks* (1 pair carried in Pack).
1 *Clasp Knife with Tin opener.*
1 *Shaving Brush.*
1 *Tooth Brush.*
1 *Comb.*
1 *Hold-all.*
1 *Housewife.*
1 *Pair Laces* (spare).
1 *Razor.*
1 *Cake Soap.*
1 *Towel.*
1 *Knife, table.*
1 *Fork.*
1 *Spoon.*

II. Arms and Equipment carried on person:

(All these are supplied by the authorities).

III. Clothing and Necessaries packed in Kit Bag:

1 Jacket
1 Pair Trousers
1 Cap.
} Walking out or Service Dress.
1 *Flannel Shirt.*
1 *Towel.*

(Articles in italics are supplied by the man).

A Territorial who recently joined the Army, and has not yet been ordered to mobilize, tells us that he has had to spend nearly £2 10s. on the various things that the men have to get for themselves. To the printed list as given above, a jersey, a muffler, a Balaclava cap, and two pair of pants have been added. If the man has not the ready cash, he can get these things from the regimental stores and have the money stopped out of his pay. Naturally he is encouraged to do this as the contractors make out of the business, and he is offered a shaving brush for 6½d. which he can get for 4½d. at an ordinary shop, and other things at the same comparative rates.

This man and thousands of others like him cannot afford to pay £2 10s. or indeed anything at all for his outfit. He is obliged to buy it at the expense of his children's food.

Women, do you not want a vote in order that you may see to it that the rich people in whose interests all wars are mainly fought shall pay their share of the cost of war, by these things being paid for from taxation instead of from the small wages of the poor man who is going out to lay down his life.

A deduction of 1½d. per week is being made from a soldier's pay for Insurance under the National Insurance Act. This keeps him in full insurance and HIS WIFE IS ENTITLED TO THE FULL MATERNITY BENEFIT. SEE THAT YOU GET IT.

We are told that at Leopold House, Burdett Road, women are finishing Soldiers' trousers for 1½d. an hour. What a scandal this is!

Printed by E. H. Williams (Regd T.U.), 232 Devons Road, Bow, E., and Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, at their offices, 321 Roman Road, Bow, E.